/628 cont./

181 The entire social order, as the aggregate of conjugal or familial arrangements and vital functions of the tribe or community, proves to be naturally humane and, therefore, appears in an altogether friendly, pleasant light.

A. Courtship and Marriage

594 The individual family, the supporting pillar of the entire social order, is regulated in its origin and its continuation according to fixed, unchangeable fundamental principles. These principles are kept alive as customs in the consciousness and conscience of the people. They are made known to each member of the tribe and are more or less familiar to him. Since custom and practice are the primary law in the performance of duty, the centuries have not eaten away any of this, and whatever has remained down to the present time is to be justly and lawfully regarded as ancient tribal heritage.

581 The individual family consisting of parents and children is
/629/ basically independent and a compact union. It is founded
594 on mutual affection between the two lovers and the desire for life-long union. It is held together by the increasing spiritual relationship of the two partners. Its vitality is assured by the fellowship of work and possessions, food gathering and consumption. It grows beyond itself by the self-evident duty of parents to beget several children and through them to insure the permanence of the tribe.

581 Although these vital customs pertaining to the institution of
177 the family have endured in century-long uniformity, foreign influences have exerted such pressure on it for several decades that this firm structure has finally become undermined. Conditions have arisen in recent times which cannot be regarded as natural, and their effects on marital conditions have created a sad caricature of the original pattern of marriage. These regrettable changes and the false and inadequate observations of most travelers since the middle of the previous century do not give a picture of the basic organization of the institution of the family among the Yamana (1).

583 1. What has been recorded from still older
117

/631 cont./

582 of girls in the čiẽxaus ceremony.

881 Naturally, the girls who are pledged to the youth initiation have shortly before shown signs of physical maturity. Hence the latter is always present when the question of marriage becomes serious (4). Mental maturity of both sexes is emphatically

4. Hyades (f):573 observed that "a young girl of 12 or 13 years, not yet menstruating, was abducted by a Fuegian who wished to marry her, although he already had one wife" /translated from French/. This single case proves nothing against the generally valid principle, nor does it reveal under what conditions this man took the girl; perhaps it was the sister or niece of his wife. From a casual wish to an actual marriage is a long way, even among the Yamana.

required; this may be deduced from the fact that instruction at the čiẽxaus must unquestionably have preceded the marriage. It includes instruction in the mutual obligations of both partners. Alfredo once told me: "First each one must know what work he must do and how he must behave, before he can get married!" He was thinking, as he said, of the customary division of labor and of the almost equal position of each marriage partner in the family union.

864 By that time the marriageable young people are sufficiently
•[581] enlightened about sex life to know that it is one of the chief purposes of marriage to beget children. Adults in Tierra del Fuego would never provide the so-called sexual enlightenment of youth before the /632/ proper stage of physical development is reached. The nearer one is to maturity, the more definitely and clearly parents and close relatives point out that the union of the two sexes produces the child. Nothing is definitely said, as I learned, about intercourse itself. Instead, the girl, in connection with her first menstruation, is instructed in detail on the care and handling of an infant. For their part, the young boys in the čiẽxaus are admonished to give the future wife all the proper consideration shortly

/637 cont./

3. The Ideal Marriage Partner

581 Not a single essay by European travelers suggests that the young Fuegians who are in love have a mental picture of an ideal partner, created by their wishes and transfigured by their romantic fancy. The young person eager to marry does not throw himself into the arms of any partner; freedom in the selection of a mate definitely shows that everyone is calculating and deliberate in choosing this or that person. This shows that all amorous desire moves in certain directions, the goal of which is the lovely vision of the ideal marriage partner. This picture is clearly drawn by certain suggestions in the teachings of the youth initiation. Here all the personal merits and social virtues that each boy and girl must exhibit in married life are emphatically named and recommended. Anyone who will make a list of the individual words that apply to this will get a complete picture of the ideal husband and the ideal wife, according to Yamana conceptions. We need only add to this the wishes for certain physical qualities which the other partner cherishes. In the case of most lovers, these are in the foreground, rather than good character traits.

581 826 [132] First, the question of how the girl imagines the boy of her dreams. He must be strong and healthy, well built and nicely proportioned. Deformities that disfigure him, such as scars of burns or other scars and injuries, for example, broken limbs which impede free movement, make a young man less or not at all desirable (10). In former times, apparently, there were no

10. Bove (e):158 agrees: "A cripple, one who is rachitic, can cheerfully take the vow of celibacy, and women regard such a person as an unclean creature, a pariah." In Wieghardt:41 we read the same words.

obese and heavy figures among young people. On the other hand, a well-built, upright, lithe, and supple figure has the best prospects.

581 Moreover, a young man's whole appearance must definitely

/637 cont./

581 express courage and awareness of strength, adventuresome spirit and joyous vitality. Everyone esteems a young person who attacks a piece of work with zest and finishes it with playful ease, who cheerfully sets out to hunt and regularly returns with game, who always knows how to occupy himself in and around his hut, who briskly and nimbly lends a hand everywhere. All this expresses a brisk, lively temperament, and this is far preferable to a phlegmatic sluggishness, for the more infrequently social intercourse with other people is possible, the more oppressive the latter becomes within the intimate family circle. They avoid a violent and quarrelsome, peevish and moody chap, /638/ but they enthusiastically take to one who is unreserved and gets along well with everyone, who cheers people up and adjusts to them easily, and who is obliging.

In all this, the girl is less concerned with the definite traits of character which her beloved is supposed to have, but she unconsciously takes for granted his faithfulness and his complete devotion to her. Moreover, she expects him to be a good human being, free of crudeness in his behavior, free of uncontrolled outbursts of rage and tendencies toward violence, without, however, lacking courage, manly pride, and daring. Each quality that the girl in love observes in her chosen one she greets with quiet satisfaction or with a smile; sometimes she commends him modestly, just enough to attract gently the attention of her female friends.

581 826 In a similar intensification of personal wishes and expectations, the young chap has an ideal image of his mate. The girl of his choice must also be beautifully built and have a pleasing shape (11). A small, smooth face, quiet, clear eyes, a dainty

11. According to Spegazzini's (a):165 conception, a "natural selection" /cited in English/ applies to the decision of each of the two lovers, "because a young man rarely chooses a wife who is ugly or has defects, just as a woman never binds herself to a youth who is deformed or imperfect" /translated from Spanish/.

mouth with thin lips, and a soft, gentle voice captivate his heart.

/638 cont./

581 826 Her body should be neither thin nor heavy. He is most pleased with a slender but rounded figure. With all her vivacity, her movements must not lack grace -- one would almost like to say distinction -- and a certain quiet dignity.

581 A quiet, silent creature who is not lacking in sympathy and lively fellow-feeling is extraordinarily esteemed. Loud quarreling, moody ill-humor, and irritable touchiness have a repulsive effect. Cleanliness of body and all material possessions, love of order in the hut and in personal belongings, an inexhaustible urge to be constantly busy, inconspicuous quietness in all daily work, affection for parents, and a happy disposition in dealing with small children -- these are virtues which even older women praise and which they constantly recommend to marriageable girls.

Lively, wholesome girls have good prospects of being courted; they are the ones who like to be teased, who consciously make a circle of young boys notice them, and who expect an understanding reply to their loud giggles. They bring life into a group of young people and, adroitly and quite spontaneously, provoke fun and flirtation in any circle.

Thus, our Yamana, too, have what we call an ideal of a beautiful and perfect mate, although in the tempestuous wishes and desires of youthful lovers it is made up chiefly of purely external characteristics. /639/ Blind love and extravagant fancy usually disregard inner qualities and character traits (12). Even

12. At this point I should like to refute the thoroughly false assertion of Spegazzini (a):165 that among these Fuegians "love as understood in the lofty sense of our society does not exist!" /Translated from Spanish./

someone like Spegazzini (a):165 admits "that the strongest and handsomest men are the ones who have more women and the most beautiful women. During my observations to see if the type regarded as beautiful were the same as among us, I noted that the men and women who appeared attractive to me not only attracted the glances of the opposite sex, but many times someone with a gleam in his eyes would point out a person to me and say: Uš-gamna (what a man)! Uš-gulpa (what a woman)!"

/639 cont./

581 /Translated from Spanish./ Some visitors describe the beautiful, pleasing figure, even for the European eye, of individual young Fuegians; there were even some splendid specimens of human beings among them. That these persons, further idealized in the imaginations of young people anxious to marry, are the most sought after for a life-long union in marriage is too natural to have to be specifically substantiated. Anyone who is only moderately endowed physically is content to find a partner who is his equal. Nevertheless, luck and chance sometimes casts an unusually charming girl, and a lovable creature, into the arms of a less attractive boy for immediate marriage (13).

[115]

13. In long conversations with Fred and Nelly Lawrence I obtained the details, difficult to come by elsewhere, from which this account was written; later I also talked with other informants about it.

4. Freedom in the Selection of a Mate

514 Even those travelers and missionaries who are generally reliable give unclear accounts about the freedom of choice of girls before marriage, and these sometimes seem to be clearly contradictory. The uninfluenced private decision of young people who wish to marry is the rule and custom, but in exceptional cases a few old people, namely, the parents of the girl, violate this by their selfish and ruthless conduct. We must not, however, lose sight of the fact that the various assertions of travelers are sometimes mere fabrications and almost without exception are based on insufficient observation. Even in Bridges we can trace a change in his own opinion about marital conditions, since in later writings he undeniably contradicts what he said in the first years of his sojourn with the Fuegians. Obviously, any kind of courtship among marriageable young people would be futile if they were obliged to submit unconditionally to the arbitrary decision of other persons. Before we set forth the true state of affairs in this important arrangement, I shall repeat the divergent opinions of several Europeans of the last few decades. The shallow

/662 cont./
604 custom grants the real parents. If the young woman should have the misfortune of having to seek help against infractions or cruel treatment by her husband, she first turns to her blood brother and then to her uncle.

581 In principle, the couple are united in marriage for life.
593 Their marriage is not only a union of hearts, but also a union of work for the welfare of themselves and their children. Each of the two partners is assigned particular duties by ancient custom; it alone decides if and when the dissolution of a marriage is permissible. Unfortunately, the modern age has also changed the
[77] original /663/ form of marriage in families of today, so that it is only partly recognizable in its outward appearance; hence the information given by all the old people was particularly valuable to me.

1. Monogamy

114 In describing the marital arrangements and family customs
585 of the Yamana, the critic is faced with a difficult problem. The reports of earlier observers are often quite inadequate and in part clearly colored. In particular, the statements Bridges made about our Indians are consistently unfavorable to them, and his conscious or unconscious intention to show them in an unfriendly light can probably not be denied. The older reports from his pen are in a disparaging and disdainful vein. Later he had enough feeling for justice to correct some of his grossest errors. Other travelers, however, in describing things which they did not directly understand, leaned on Bridges, and this was especially true in the case of arrangements dealing with marriage and the family. This is why there is so much agreement and similarity of opinion among the writers. I personally no longer found the genuine form of married life among the Yamana of earlier times to be a common condition and was obliged to rely on the reports of trustworthy people, such as old Alfredo, during my second visit to Tierra del Fuego. Since their opinions were well founded, they at any rate counteract many false, unsubstantiated contentions.

Many of the earlier travelers maintain that the Yamana condone polygamy, but one cannot clearly tell from their words whether

1: Gusinde--450 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SHS Yahgan SHS

/671 cont./

3. Division of Labor between Spouses

462 562 581 In marriage the two spouses are not only united by a bond of love, but consciously in a working partnership as well. Among the Fuegians all work serves the purpose of immediate sustenance; no one thinks of the future or of an accumulation of riches. Household management is possible for an independent family only on the basis of a definitely circumscribed division of labor for the two spouses. Hence, it necessarily follows that one member remains inescapably dependent upon the other. This not only brings about the almost complete equality of both sexes, but makes plausible the fact that an /672/ adult cannot continuously or for a long period live alone and unmarried. Hence, all of them, without exception, marry when they are still young. Single, aged, and widowed persons who cannot marry again try to find refuge with a family of friends. In marriage both parties join forces, and their common goal is to have the family operate in an orderly fashion as an economic and social arrangement.

462 The spheres of work and the various individual tasks are divided up according to the natural ability of each sex (62).

> 62. In March, 1864, Stirling referred to his observation that "there are well marked divisions of labour amongst this people" /cited in English/ (VSA:XI,228;1864). Bridges (h):210 much later supplemented this: "The division of labor [between husband and wife] is made in a manner that is considered just" /translated from Spanish/. Hyades (g):35 expressed himself more precisely: "Within the family, man and wife divide the work. The actual hard work falls to the men... The actual housework -- in this case, with the lack of houses, it is certainly figurative, so-called housework -- falls to the women."

All duties requiring greater muscular power, tough endurance, audacious courage, and decisive fearlessness are suitable for the

1:Gwinde--473 E-S (1918-1924) 1937 S98 Tahgan S98

/886 cont./

836 867 parents who themselves often transgress against sexual morality are careful to give irreproachable guidance to their children.

836 Despite all vigilance, a certain amount of improper conduct among young people cannot be avoided, and some girls lose their physical intactness (94). The Yamana do not know the

94. On this subject Hyades (q):188 expresses himself thus: "In fact, the young girls of ten to 12 years whom we examined had already lost it. But this does not imply a precocious perversion on their part nor a great ardor for sexual relations" /translated from French/.

meaning of this in the European sense, and only with this restriction may we interpret Hyades' (b):1346 and (q):188 words: "There is no value placed /687/ on a young girl's virginity" /translated from French/ (95). A reserved, virtuous girl enjoys

95. Hahn (x):804 uses the same words and unjustifiably concludes from this: "Modesty is completely unknown among the Fuegians" /translated from French/. The secret mistakes of a few children, despite the serious warnings and great vigilance of all adults, are no proof that modesty is lacking among all the people.

a good reputation; adults keep a particularly sharp eye on an impertinent young chap. Finally, a thoughtful boy will not 879 readily offer his hand in marriage to a girl whose behavior is conspicuously bold; he lacks confidence in her fidelity later.

834 A few effective protective measures for special occasions 834 have been set up, apparently in order that neither of the two sexes, despite their duty to render reciprocal aid, will run the risk of violating conjugal fidelity. These measures have to do with the exchange of gifts between a man and woman who are

1: Gumde--480 E-6 (1919-1924) 1937 1055 Telgas 1055

/231 cont./

or that mistreatment of the woman begin immediately among young married couples? The circle of relatives of every married person sees to it that a marriage continues, for they feel responsible for his assured sustenance which is practically impossible or unstable outside of marriage, except in the case of elderly people. The woman who has been divorced through her own fault is, to begin with, a burden to her relatives, less because of her maintenance than because of the damaged reputation of the entire circle of relatives and because of the worry about her children. This explains why the relatives almost always try to settle a threatened relationship or to mend a broken marriage, even when the wife has been mistreated. The children are divided up according to the wish and intention of the spouses: either they remain with the mother if the man runs away, and vice versa, or some relatives take pity on the youngsters until the parents have returned to an ordered life. A person who through his own fault has dissolved a marriage never enjoys a good reputation.

These considerations have always tended to prevent light-hearted attempts at divorce. We do not have definite figures, but a man has more often run away from his wife than a woman from her husband; consideration for the children was a factor in this situation.

6. Celibacy

We have repeatedly pointed out that the economy of the Tanana basically prohibits a lifelong unmarried state, and that public opinion does not grant an individual full social standing unless he is married (104). Each of the two sexes has duties which can be

> 104. The Tanana find it incomprehensible, solely on the basis of the conduct of life, how Europeans can live unmarried for a lifetime and maintain themselves. They are regarded "as enigmas," as Hyades (Q:377 expresses it.

fulfilled only through marriage. At marriageable age the young people are told in plain words that they may no longer put off a

/481 cont./

marital union with a suitable lifelong companion. If a child hesitates for an unduly long time, the Yamana regard it as an impropriety on the part of the parents.

The reasons for an early marriage of young people are also of paramount importance for widowed persons. The duty of a widow to marry has arisen chiefly out of solicitude for her children. Hence "as soon as a man dies, his wives are married to others" /cited in English/ (Bridges /481/ in MM:III,117;1869). As a result, "There are very few single women, not one among a hundred" /cited in English/ (ibid.) (105). Extraordinary reasons prevent a new marriage.

> 105. With this statement Bridges (a):203 to a certain extent corrects an earlier assertion: "Owing to the almost general practice of polygamy, many men are without wives, and live so all their days. And owing to the general practice of giving young women to oldish men, the young men frequently can get no wives but relicts" /cited in English/.

Modern times have changed a great deal of this, for they have, in part, considerably altered even the conditions of life. On February 2, 1878, Bridges (l):17 reported from Yendegaia: "Widows did not long continue so; in fact, a single adult man or woman was a rarity. But with the march of civilized life marriage becomes less necessary and more difficult, and the number of single men and women increases" /cited in English/. At present, there are so few Yamana living that everyone is married; sometimes there is even a young man with an aged wife, because he has no other choice. Only old Flora has been alone for a long time; she is regarded as hard to get along with.

A factually insignificant supplementary statement from Bridges (l):21 is added here: "Though deaf or dumb men never married, unless it were an old woman, a deaf woman would be a wife and have children -- the men remained single because usually no woman would marry such" /cited in English/.

What has been said about young persons and those of middle age does not apply to old people. Since they no longer have their